[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[10] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

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439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/67]

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648 late 1870's, Van Zyl was hunting elephant and rhinoceros in the Ghanzi District. In 1879, he camped at /gam and is known [563] to have visited /ai/ai and !ubi. One of the white hunters with Van Zyl had an affair with a !Kung woman named n/ahka; the descendents of this union are today living at !ubi. These people acknowledge their European ancestry but otherwise are culturally !Kung.

During roughly the same period, the Batawana cattle herders from the Tsau area on the Okavango swamps began to move their cattle out to summer waterholes in the west. By the 1890's, they had penetrated as far west as Karakuwisa in what was then German South West Africa. They had also established cattle posts at /ai/ai, Gura, and at /gauša Pan (see Map 9).

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7, is an historical landmark throughout the stock raising areas of southern Africa. At the time of the outbreak only two Batawana families were summering their herds of cattle in the interior. The Ramadjagote family was at /Gauša Pan and the Ledimo family was at Gura. The Rinderpest devastated the herds on the Okavango but fortunately did not reach the central !Kung interior. When the two families drove their cattle back to the river after the epidemic had passed, it was found that theirs were the only herds left intact in western Ngamiland.

• 175 648 The Ramadjagote and Ledimo families owe their present pre-eminent position in Batawana tribal affairs to that stroke of fortune, because in exchange for the use of their breeding stock the two families were granted by the tribe two vast tracts of land west of the Okavango swamps.

The Ledimo family received rights to hunt, to graze their cattle and to collect tribute over all the lands that lay west of the swamps and north of the Aha Hills. The Ramadajagote family received a similar concession over the lands that lay south of the Aha Hills (see Map 10). Both families have exercised these rights in Western Ngamiland until recent years and one of the senior Ledimos still maintains a cattle post at n!aun!au. However, in 1965, with the election of the first democratic government in Bechuanaland, these and other traditional concessions are being abolished.

It should be added that although the British declared a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1896 (Sillery 1952:60ff), their official presence was not felt in the Dobe area until many years later. In 1934, Captain Webb of the Bechuanaland Police made the first official tour of duty to !angwa and /ai/ai.

The next historical event to affect the !Kung of the interior was the Herero-German War of 1904-07. In 1904, the Hereros of South West Africa rose in rebellion against a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 60/61]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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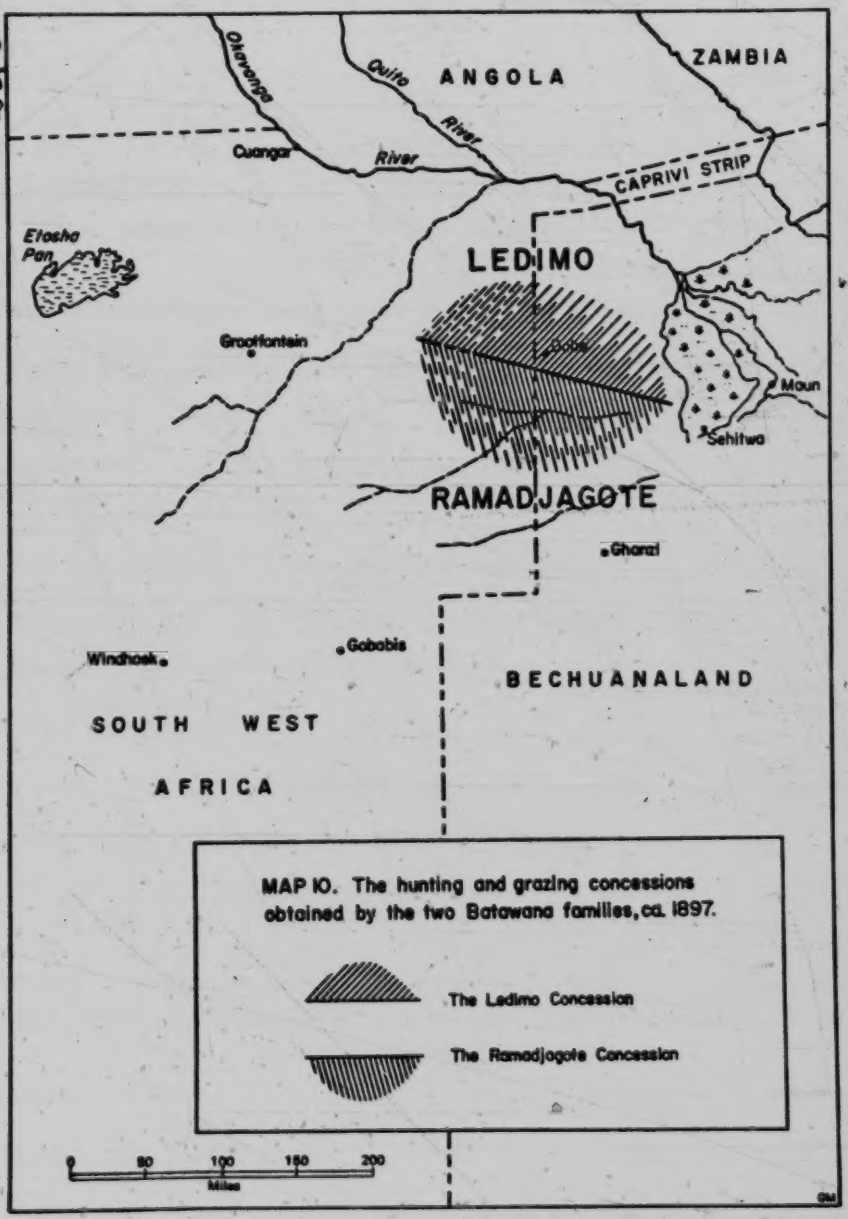

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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cruel German administration. The Germans launched a genocidal campaign against the Hereros and succeeded in exterminating the majority of the tribe.[1] Several thousand Hereros, fleeing before the German patrols managed to escape east to Bechuanaland where the British government granted them asylum. Many of these refugees passed through the Dobe area on their way to safety and the details of their flight are remembered today by the older !Kung. One German patrol pursued the refugees as far as Gura, a well situated 30 miles west of Dobe, where they found an abandoned Batawana cattle post. Thinking that they had reached the frontier of British territory, they turned back, but before doing so, they carved a boundary marker on a baobab tree, which may still be seen today (see Map 11).

At the time of the rebellion none of the refugees had settled in the Dobe area. They all continued on to the Batawana villages on the swamps where they were given breeding stock and allowed to resume a normal life. Until the mid-1920's, the only non-Bushman presence in the interior was the annual summer hunting trips led by the Ramadjagote and Ledimo families.

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[1] The ghastly details are found in the Union of South Africa's official inquiry (1918).

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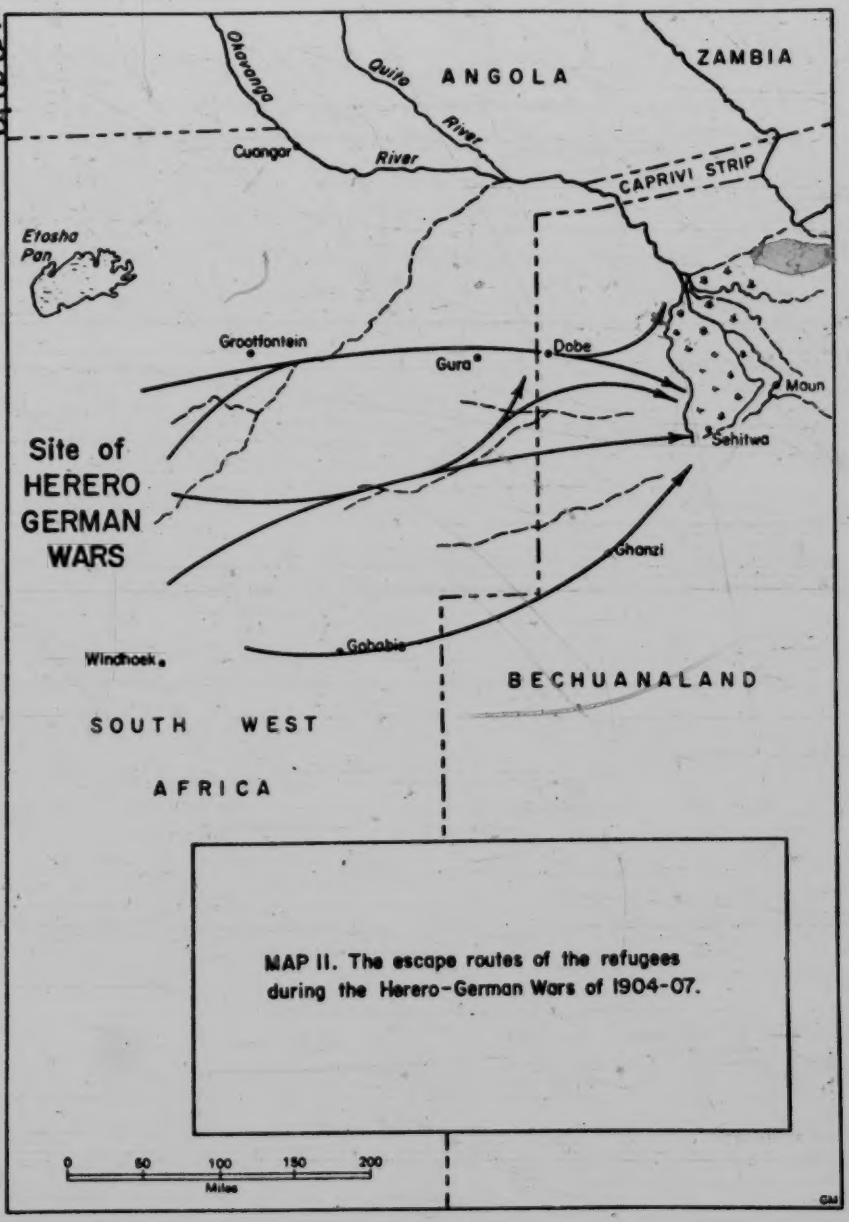

MAP II. The escape routes of the refugees during the Herero-German Wars of 1904-07.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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63/64.

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648 Bantu settlement, 1925-1960 :- Around 1925, the first Bantu families came to live permanently in the Dobe area. These families and those that followed them were drawn largely from the Herero refugees who had settled in the Tsau area a generation before. They apparently decided to move up-country in order to escape the overcrowded and overgrazed conditions prevailing in the river districts. In the early 1930's, ten more families settled in the Dobe area. These newcomers deepened several of the natural waterholes and dug three new wells to bring the total number of permanent water sources to eleven. In 1934, Captain Webb visited the area and reported that the Bantu were occupying these waterholes on the Bechuanaland side and other waterholes on the South West Africa side of the border. Bantu families continued to settle in the Dobe area throughout the 1930's and 40's, until by 1948, there were an estimated 150 Bantu with 3,000 head of cattle resident up-country.

For many years the relations between Bantu and Bushmen had gone unregulated. There were reports of Bushmen stealing cattle and of retaliatory measures by the Bantu which included whipping Bushmen and coercing the young men into service as cattle boys. In 1948, the Batawana tribal administration appointed Isak Utuhile, a Mutawana man resident at !Kabe, as the first official Headman of the Dobe area. This

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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appointment was precipitated in part by the murder in 1946 of a Mukgalahadi man by a !Kung Bushman. It was many months before a police patrol could reach the Dobe area to arrest the suspect.[1] The tribal government felt at the time that a more permanent representative of their authority was required. Isak described as his terms of reference the prevention of cattle theft and the prevention of exploitation of Bushmen by the Bantu. Since 1948, Isak has administered customary law and judged disputes from his Kgotla (court) at !angwa.

The Bantu population of the Dobe area remained stable until 1954 when there occurred a major influx of Herero pastoralists from the Makakun area to the east. The circumstances that brought this move about are worth mentioning because this migration initiated a series of political events that have produced the present curious situation in the Dobe area.

In the late 1940's, there had been an expansion of Tsetse fly into cattle-raising areas that had formerly been free of fly. This forced hundreds of pastoralists to evacuate the infested areas and thus put an even greater pressure on the grazing in the shrinking fly-free areas. The Dobe area, which starts 60 miles west of the Tsetse fly front, appeared

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[1] The suspect, a young man named /oma, was arraigned in Maun in September, 1946, but for unknown reasons was never brought to trial.

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to offer to the displaced Hereros an attractive living space. Accordingly some 18 families totalling over 120 people with 4,000 head of cattle trekked west in 1954. But instead of settling at the Dobe area wells, these migrants "leap-frogged" these wells and trekked directly into South West Africa where they occupied the waterholes of the Nyae Nyae area. There was a long standing precedent for such a move. Pastoralists from Bechuanaland had been summering cattle in South West Africa since the 1890's, and some of the Dobe area Bantu spent the year round at their South West cattle posts.

The Marshall family had made their first expedition to the Nyae Nyae pans in 1951. At that time they found a few of the water sources supporting Bantu cattle posts. They returned on their second expedition in 1955 to find what appeared to be a major Bantu encroachment of the Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region. Their reports to the South West Administration led to the expulsion of these Herero in 1956 and the closing of the border to all movements of cattle. The Bantu were forced to withdraw to wells on the B.P. side and today the majority of them are bunched up at two wells within five miles of the border. Since 1957, the South African police have patrolled the border road and they have shot on sight any cattle that stray across the line into South West Africa.

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 The period of European presence, 1960-1965 - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.